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REMARKS
ON THE
great Britain
PATRIOT. *K*

INCLUDING SOME
HINTS
RESPECTING THE
AMERICANS:
WITH AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
ELECTORS
OF
GREATBRITAIN.

L O N D O N :

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MEMORANDUM
OF
PATENT

IN
VITATION
TO
REGISTER

AND
DEEDS



OF
THE
PATENT
OFFICE
IN
GREAT
BRITAIN

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R E M A R K S
O N T H E
P A T R I O T.

AS the PATRIOT was undoubtedly published with a view to the late General Election, the following strictures may be deemed rather out of season; but as the sentiments it contains will probably extend their influence far beyond that occasion, animadversion on them even now, cannot be unnecessary: as books also derive importance from the character of their authors, the supposition of its being the production of a very learned and ingenious Gentleman, is an additional reason for paying it a proper attention.

Whatever might be the Writer's motive for sneering at the "Saturnalian season, when the freemen of Great Britain may please them-

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“ selves with the choice of their representatives,” his treatment of so serious a subject with such obvious levity, redounds not to his honour. If we are grugged our little liberty, it is surely the superfluity of insolence to insult us for loving it: if we are so foolish as not to avail ourselves of that liberty, our folly to a true Philanthropist, would appear less the object of ridicule than of pity.

From the pen of a celebrated philosopher, it were reasonable to expect a just and unexceptionable definition of his subject, “ A Patriot,” says our Author, is he whose conduct is regulated by one single motive, the love of his country; who, as an agent in Parliament, has for himself neither hope nor fear, neither kindness nor resentment, but refers every thing to the common interest.”

This idea, however, is only the idea of implicit love, and implicit love is not invariably advantageous, but sometimes detrimental to its object; the fond parent who ignorantly imagines that she benefits, often in reality injures her offspring.—From the prejudices of education, one man may think he is shewing love to his Maker,
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by murdering his fellow creatures; from the prejudices of education, another man may think he is doing good to his country, by enslaving it.—He also who finds an arbitrary Prince kind to himself, will suppose him equally kind to others, and deem the government, which is experienced propitious to the individual, equally propitious to the community. If he sees any suffer, he will account their sufferings the reward due to their offences, and so justify the most iniquitous exertions of power.—A man must know what is the true interest of his country, and use his best endeavours to promote it, before he can have a just title to the honourable distinction of a Patriot.

To describe Patriotism as a most uncommon virtue; to affirm that it does not exist in this or the other mode of conduct, and yet not to shew in what it does exist, is a proceeding naturally to be expected from a Writer dependent on those who probably wish it a non-entity: nor can we in the least wonder that he begins with striking off the list of Patriots, all opponents of the present Government.

“ Some, says he, claim a place in the list of

" Patriots, by an acrimonious and unremitting
 " opposition to the Court. This mark is by no
 " means infallible.—He that has been refused
 " a reasonable or unreasonable request, who
 " thinks his merit under-rated, and sees his in-
 " fluence declining, begins soon to talk of na-
 " tural equality, the absurdity of *many made for*
 " *one*, the original compact, the foundation of
 " authority, and the majesty of the people. As
 " his political melancholy increases, he tells,
 " and perhaps dreams of the advances of the
 " prerogative, and the dangers of arbitrary
 " power; yet his design in all his decla-
 " mation, is not to benefit his country, but to
 " gratify his malice.—These, however, are
 " the most honest of the opponents of govern-
 " ment; their patriotism is a species of disease;
 " and they feel some part of what they express.
 " But the greater, far the greater number of
 " those who rave and rail, and enquire and ac-
 " cuse, neither suspect, nor fear, nor care for
 " the publick; but hope to force their way to
 " riches by virulence and invective, and are ve-
 " hement and clamorous, only that they may be
 " sooner hired to be silent"

If the measures of a Court are injurious to the people, opposition to those measures must be patriotism, for it is real service to one's country. The doctrines of natural equality, &c. far from meriting derision, as the reveries of unsuccessful candidates for Court Favour, are the doctrines of reason, and of truth. Superiority of birth or fortune, of corporal, or even of intellectual abilities, though it may give power, never can give right to one to govern many without their own consent: consequently the people is the origin, and the Prince only the residence of authority *. *Majesty* (says a celebrated writer) is *not an inherent, but a reflected light* †."

To suppose a man really to feel concern for his country, and by expressing that concern not to design to serve that country, but to gratify his malice, is absurdly to suppose him to pursue

* In former ages, the vulgar entertained an idea of some super-human anomalous quality inherent in the wearer of a crown. They deified their Kings, and obeyed them with implicit veneration; there are those who wish this idea still to exist, but knowledge is increased, if virtue is not; men cannot be awed, and therefore they must be bribed into submission.

† Patriot King, 68.

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the means of doing what he does not intend to do; to suppose him at the same time honest and dishonest; and to make sincerity and pretence compatible.

That there are many who maintain opposition merely with a view to their own advantage, is a truth too obvious to be denied; yet as the nature of motive cannot in this case alter the nature of action, even such, though not intentionally, may be virtually useful to their country. — The man who confers favours on another in expectation of being hired to desert, certainly designs nothing but his own advantage; nevertheless his favours *pro tempore* are of real advantage to the favoured party. He who assists to extinguish a fire in the house of his neighbour, may have solely in view the safety of his own property, yet his assistance is not at all the less serviceable to the publick. Surely then we need not hesitate to avail ourselves of these self-interested Patriots. If the scale of power too greatly preponderates, there is no occasion to be so very scrupulous with what we replenish the scale of liberty. Whatever be a man's reason for professing to serve his country, he who professes

feſſes to ſerve it ought to be tried ; while he remains faithful we ſhall reap the benefit of his ſervices ; and whenever he becomes unfaithful, he cannot accept the wages of unfaithfulneſs with impunity ; for we yet enjoy the privilege (if we will uſe it) of withdrawing our confidence from the pitiful accepter of a place or a penſion.

He now proceeds to inform us ; “ That diſ-
 “ ſeminating diſcontent and propagating reports
 “ of ſecret influence, of dangerous counſels, of
 “ violated rights and encroaching uſurpation,
 “ is no certain note of patriotiſm.” That, “ He
 “ is no lover of his country that unneceſſarily
 “ diſturbſ its peace.” That, “ Few errors and
 “ few faults of Government can juſtify an ap-
 “ peal to the rabble, who ought not to judge
 “ of what they cannot underſtand, and whole
 “ opinions are not propagated by reaſon but
 “ caught by contagion.” That, “ They who are
 “ now filling our ears with Mr. Wilkes and
 “ the Freeholders of Middleſex, lament a griev-
 “ ance which is now at an end.” That, “ The
 “ the precedent of Mr. Wilkes’s excluſion, makes
 “ not any honeſt or any decent man think himſelf
 “ in danger.” That, “ it may be doubted whe-
 “ ther

"ther the name of a Patriot can be fairly given
 "as the reward of secret satire, or open out-
 "rage." And that "to offer a petition, not
 "expected to be granted; and to insult a
 "King with a rude remonstrance, only because
 "there is no punishment for legal insolence *,
 "is not courage, for there is no danger, nor
 "Patriotism, for it tends to the subversion of
 "order, and lets wickedness loose upon the
 "land, by destroying the reverence due to so-
 "vereign authority."

*If dangerous counsels really exist, the know-
 ledge of their existence ought to be propagated; if
 rights are violated, notice of the violation ought to
 be given; and it cannot be unnecessary to disturb
 the peace of a nation for the safety of its liberties,
 because a temporary evil should ever be suf-
 fered for the security of a lasting benefit.*
 If a man, even unnecessarily disturbs the peace
 of his country, it is no natural consequence

* The Author seems here to regret there is no punish-
 ment for what he terms legal insolence; the idea of a
punishment for any thing *legal*, is somewhat peculiar. Per-
 haps he wishes for Lettres de Cachet, and a Bastile, for
 the correction of impertinent censurers of Government.

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that he does not love it, because he may think its liberties in danger, when they are not. Whether dangerous counsels do exist, whether rights are violated, and whether liberty is in danger, the people should examine; and by the result of their examination, be determined in their bestowal of the appellation of Patriot. Most errors and faults of government will justify appeal to the rabble, because by most errors and faults of government, the rabble must be affected. It is every man's duty to warn others against that, by which he knows they will receive injury. Persons indeed ought not to judge of what they cannot understand, but the policy of a free state ought to be no mystery to its meanest citizen.

That the author of the FALSE ALARM (if he is really the author of the PATRIOT) should admit the affair of the Middlesex Election to be a grievance, could not have been reasonably expected; but when he terms it a grievance now at an end, he certainly is mistaken; the grievance cannot be at an end, while the vote that caused it, remains unrescinded. To pretend that the real cause of Mr. Wilkes's exclusion,

was his moral, and not his political character, is to insult common understanding : every man, therefore, however honest, and however decent, who dares oppose an arbitrary administration, has sufficient reason, from the precedent, to think himself in danger.

If publick ruin is approaching, and ignorance and indolence permit its approach, every lawful means should be employed to communicate knowledge, and to stimulate to action. That effort is expected to prove abortive, is no reason why it should not be made. Were despondency of success universally to produce relaxation of endeavour ; if he who hoped not to reform was always to forbear to censure, the prevalence of evil would probably be augmented. Acquiescence in injury, is encouragement to repeat it. If the rights of a nation are violated, to petition for redress, and if redress is refused, to remonstrate against the obstinacy, which, by refusing it, perpetuates the violation, is therefore the duty of a Patriot. That wickedness is in any degree restrained by a reverence for sovereign authority, and that the licentiousness of individuals is a greater evil than an infringement

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ment of the franchises of a whole community, are assumptions which must be proved before diminishing that reverence, by remonstrating against such infringement, can be proved not to be Patriotism*.

Our author admits, that “ the *true lover of his country* is ready to communicate his fears, and to sound the alarm, whenever he perceives the approach of mischief.” Yet he thinks, the Patriotism may be justly doubted, of him who professes to be disturbed by incredibilities; who tells, that the last peace was obtained by bribing the Princess of Wales; that the King is grasping at arbitrary power; and that because the French, in the new conquests, enjoy their own laws, there is a design at court of abolishing in England the trial by juries.” Still less (he says) does the true Patriot circulate opinions, which he knows to be false. No man, who loves his country, fills the nation with clamorous complaints, that the Pro-

* Those who recollect the number of pardons lately granted to the most atrocious criminals, will scarcely think that wickedness has been much restrained by a dread of sovereign authority.

“ testant religion is in danger, because *Popery*
 “ *is established in the extensive province of Quebec,*
 “ a falsehood so open and shameless, that it
 “ needs no confutation among those who know,
 “ —That Quebec is on the other side of the
 “ Atlantic, at too great a distance to do much
 “ good or harm to the European world.—That
 “ the inhabitants, being French, were always
 “ Papists, who are certainly more dangerous as
 “ enemies, than as subjects *.—That though the
 “ province be wide, the people are few.—
 “ That persecution is not more virtuous in a
 “ Protestant than a Papist.—That when Cana-
 “ da, with its inhabitants, was yielded, the free
 “ enjoyment of their religion was stipulated.
 “ —And that in an age, when every mouth is
 “ open for *liberty of conscience*, it is equitable to
 “ shew some regard to the conscience of a Pa-
 “ pist.”

He who professes to be disturbed by incredibilities, may indeed be justly suspected of ig-

* This has nothing to do with the point in question,
 and is besides erroneous as a general position. Against
 an enemy a man is on his guard, against a friend he is not,
 and therefore is more easily seduced.

norance

norance or insincerity; but unluckily for our Author, the particulars which he has adduced to illustrate his position, cannot be properly arranged in the class of incredibilities. There is difference between improbabilities and incredibilities. The definition of an improbability, seems to be a thing barely unlikely to happen; the definition of an incredibility seems to be a thing which has not happened already, and therefore can scarcely be supposed to happen in future. That a King of England should be a pensioner to France is improbable; and that a Princess of Wales should be bribed by France, is likewise improbable; but a King of England was actually a pensioner to France; and therefore a Princess of Wales might be bribed by France: consequently the instance, even if false in the particular, cannot in the general be incredible. —That many Monarchs have aimed at arbitrary power, is universally known; that other Monarchs therefore may aim at it, cannot surely be a circumstance so extraordinary, as to exceed belief. Whether any individual is at present aiming at such power is another point, and

a point only determinable by a proper attention to the conduct of such individual.

That trial by jury is not established in Canada, is certainly no proof of a design to abolish it in England; but those who shew dislike to an object in one place, may reasonably be suspected of an inclination to shew dislike to it in another. Much has been said in defence of the Quebec Bill, of its consistency with the genius and the customs, and its consonance to the wishes of the inhabitants of the province, especially in the part relative to the regulation of trials*. But if the trial by jury be intrinsically, it must also be universally, the best mode of trial. Liberty and property are of as much value to a Frenchman as to an Englishman; and what is most conducive to the security of them for one, must be

* Vide a letter to the Earl of Chatham on this bill. One of the objections advanced by the writer of this letter against establishing trial by jury in Canada, is the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of freeholders to act in the capacity of jurymen. But what necessity is there for juries, either in Canada or England, to consist of freeholders exclusively? Formerly, in England, there was such a necessity, because all other men were vassals of the feudal Lords.

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most conducive to the security of them for the other. If the French indeed, like ignorant or wayward children, have made a foolish choice, and preferred their old bad laws to better new ones, they have no right to complain. That government however cannot surely be acquitted of partiality, which has in many instances discovered an aversion to oblige its natural born, and now discovers such readiness to oblige its conquered subjects. Had we however no other cause to fear for the existence of that glorious privilege of our constitution, *Trial by Jury*, the recent and repeated enactment of laws by which the magistrates of our own nation are empowered to inflict, pecuniary, and even corporal punishment without such trial, is a circumstance sufficient to awaken the suspicion of every friend of liberty *.

The conduct of him who circulates opinions which he knows to be false, admits not of vindication. But whether the Protestant religion is in danger because Popery is established in Quebec,

* Witness the dog act, that curious production of senatorial sagacity; the highway and turnpike acts, the game acts, and many others.

no man can tell, because no man can ascertain the events of futurity ; he therefore who circulates the opinion that it is, cannot circulate an opinion which he knows to be without foundation.—While the government of Quebec and England is the same, the distance of their situation is immaterial ; the power which establishes Popery in one place, may establish it in another be they ten or ten thousand miles distant. The number of families among which a religion is established, cannot make any difference in the nature of that religion, and the consequences of its establishment.

That “ persecution is not more virtuous in a Protestant than in a Papist,” is a position which has certainly nothing to do with proof of the Protestant religion being not in danger, by the establishment of Popery in Quebec ; but by introducing it, the author, who has been pleading for establishment, artfully shifts his ground, and undertakes the defence of toleration. This task was needless. No rational person would wish to refuse toleration, even to those who refuse it to others. “ Liberty of conscience is a natural right.” Every man ought to enjoy the free exercise

exercise of his particular mode of worship, without being deprived of any of the civil privileges of his fellow citizens. Toleration in Canada would have answered every good purpose of establishment, unconnected with its disadvantages; but establishment gives power to the clergy, and the clergy of the Roman Church have been the constant and firm friends of tyranny.

We are now arrived at the most extraordinary of our Author's positions—That “ A Patriot is necessarily and invariably a lover of the people; but that even this mark may sometimes deceive us. That before we confer on a man, who caresses the people, the title of Patriot, we must examine to what part of the people he directs his notice. That if the candidate of Patriotism endeavours to infuse right opinions into the higher ranks, and by their influence to regulate the lower, his love of the people may be urged in his favour. That no man can reasonably be thought a lover of his country, for roasting an ox, or burning a boot, or attending the meeting at Mile-end, or registering his name in the Lumber-troop.”

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That, " a Patriot is always ready to countenance
 " the just claims, and animate the reasonable
 " hopes of the people. That he reminds them
 " frequently of their rights, and stimulates them
 " to resent encroachments, and to multiply securities ; but that all this may be done in
 " appearance without real Patriotism. That he
 " who promises to endeavour, what he knows his
 " endeavours unable to effect, means only to delude
 " his followers by an empty clamour of
 " ineffectual zeal. That a true Patriot is no lavish
 " promiser ; that he undertakes not to shorten
 " ten Parliaments, to repeal laws, or to change
 " the mode of representation transmitted by
 " our ancestors. That he does not make a
 " vague and indefinite promise of obeying the
 " mandates of his constituents. That popular
 " instructions are commonly the work, not of
 " the wise and steady, but the violent and the
 " rash ; and that meetings held for directing representatives, are seldom attended but by the
 " idle and the dissolute."

If a man perceives that his country is in danger, and one part of the people will not assist him to save it, surely he cannot forfeit his
 right

right to the name of Patriot, by accepting the assistance of the other. Dignity of station, and purity of morals, are not essential to Patriotism. The rich, the virtuous, and the learned, are not necessarily the friends of liberty: That Politician would merit little applause for wisdom or honesty, who, when he beheld the community on the verge of ruin, would not attempt its preservation, because he was not supported by Noblemen and Gentlemen, Divines and Philosophers. In many cases the great will be less likely to be Patriots, than the mean. If regal power be ever so obviously increasing, the great will exert no endeavours to repress its increase: an exertion of such endeavours would be commission of suicide on their political existence. Their places and pensions must be sacrificed, their gawdy distinctions resigned, and their enormous luxuries retrenched. Reason will infuse rectitude of opinion to no purpose, where interest constrains to obliquity of action; if the right is known, the wrong will be practiced.

It is no uncommon proceeding of this author, to blend the ridiculous with the serious, in

order to render them equally unimportant ; none, therefore, will wonder at his descending to mention the frolick of a few wanton apprentice boys, who once attempted to burn a jack boot and a green petticoat *. This frolick, however, should not have been introduced as one of his equivocal marks of Patriotism, without proof that it was performed, or at least promoted, by some person whom the *vox populi* had honoured with the title of Patriot. Countenancing the just claims, animating the reasonable hopes of the people, reminding them of their rights, and stimulating them to resent incroachments, and multiply securities, is conduct so inevitably conducive to the welfare of a state, that by whomsoever it is pursued, or from whatever motive it proceeds, it must be the reality of Patriotism. “ Be the workmen what they be, let us speak of the work,” says a celebrated philosopher and

* This jack boot, and old petticoat, were indeed objects of such importance in the eyes of some, that it was said, a certain Courtly Gentleman, first Magistrate of the city, who redeemed them from the flames, was rewarded for his heroick exploit, with a seat in the Privy Council.

politician

politician of the last century *. That a man promises to endeavour what he knows his endeavours will be unable to accomplish, is no rule that he means to delude, since those to whom he promises may in some cases be apprized, and in others he may inform them, that victory is impossible ; yet both they and he may think it his duty to fight.

There is an essential difference between undertaking to endeavour to do what is right to be done, and undertaking actually to do it : an honest and prudent person will promise the one, but an honest and prudent person will not promise the other ; because he cannot be certain that his most strenuous efforts may not be frustrated.

The difficulty of obtaining a desired object, is no reason that it is improper to be obtained. If laws have been enacted which are found pernicious to society, they ought to be repealed. If the duration of Parliaments is too long, it ought to be shortened. If the mode of representation transmitted by our ancestors be imperfect, it ought to be altered, for antiquity cannot sanctify imperfection.

* Lord Bacon.

The original idea of an English Senator, was undoubtedly that of a servant of the people ; and if a Senator is a servant of the people, it is his duty to obey their mandates ; and if he intends to practice obedience, he need not hesitate to declare his intention*. Popular meetings are the most eligible medium of conveying the instructions of constituents to their representatives; such meetings indeed are not held often, and that they are not held oftener is a melancholy proof of the too general apathy and servility of this unhappy nation.

Our author's disquisition on what he terms the common but not indubitable marks of Patriotism, has now been examined, and his reasoning particularly controverted. On a retrospect of the whole, it will appear, that the principles he has endeavoured to establish, when divested of all illustration and application, are only these : That a man may oppose and satirize,

* In the days of our ancestors, Senators received wages from their constituents. Many Senators receive wages now, but they receive them from wrong hands. Such wages indeed are paid remotely by the people, but immediately by the court ; the receivers of them will therefore be less likely to obey the former than the latter.

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and petition and remonstrate against the conduct of a court, without loving or meaning to serve his country: and that a man who professes to believe what some others may think incredible, who pays attention less to the higher than lower ranks of society, and promises to exert his abilities in their service, and to obey their instructions, is not likely to be a Patriot. The truth of the first assertion, none could have doubted, had none ever attempted to prove it; of the second, no proof has been, nor perhaps ever can be produced.

He now proceeds to an investigation of some characteristical modes of speaking or writing, which he affirms may prove a man not to be a Patriot. "In this inquiry (he says) clearer evidence may be discovered, and firmer persuasion attained; and that as War is one of the heaviest of national evils, a calamity in which every species of misery is involved, no man who desires the public prosperity, will inflame national resentment by aggravating minute injuries, or enforcing disputable rights of little importance." As a consequence of this principle he asserts, that those who promoted

moted a war with Spain for Falkland's Islands, were no Patriots ; and unwarrantably concludes, that in case such war had been commenced, " they would, while counting the profits of " their artifice, have enjoyed the patriotic pleasure of hearing sometimes that thousands had " been slaughtered in a battle, and sometimes " that a navy had been dispeopled, by poisoned " air, and corrupted food."

War is readily admitted to be a dreadful national evil : the assistance of a foreign Potentate, the defence of a foreign territory, or the maintenance of a balance of power between contending nations, seem objects not sufficiently important to justify the inhabitants of a country like England, privileged by situation, from lightly engaging in it : yet, for these objects, have the English lavished their treasure and their blood, and been prompted to lavish them by some, to whom none have denied the attributes of a Patriot.

That there might be those who really thought war for Falkland's Islands beneficial to their country, and others, who, though of the contrary opinion, might promote it from views of private interest, and yet in other respects mean to serve the

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the publick, is surely possible. In politicks, as in morals, there must be a mixture of evil with the good. What profits the Patriots of the day could expect to derive from a war with Spain, is not easy to imagine: the profits of war are usually reaped, not by the opponents, but the servants of Government.

On an occasion so convenient for its introduction, the popular subject of North America was not likely to be omitted. "He (says our author) that wishes to see his country robbed of its rights, cannot be a Patriot.

"That man therefore is no Patriot, who justifies the ridiculous claims of American usurpation; who endeavours to deprive the nation of its natural right over its own colonies: those colonies, which were settled under English protection; were constituted by an English charter; and have been defended by English arms.

"To suppose, that by sending out a colony, the nation established an independent power; that when, by indulgence and favour, emigrants become rich, they shall not contribute to their own defence, but at their own pleasure; and that they shall not be included, like millions

“ of their fellow subjects, in the general system
 “ of representation; involves such an accumu-
 “ lation of absurdity, as nothing but the shew
 “ of patriotism could palliate.

“ He that accepts protection, stipulates obe-
 “ dience. We have always protected the Ame-
 “ ricans; we may therefore subject them to go-
 “ vernment. The less is included in the greater.
 “ That power which can take away life, may
 “ seize upon property. The parliament may
 “ enact for America a law of capital punishment;
 “ it may therefore establish a mode and pro-
 “ portion of taxation.” He then proceeds to
 justify the evils inevitably consequent on a war
 with America, on the principle of national
 crimes requiring national punishment; and as-
 serts, “ that the infliction of promiscuous evil
 “ may be lamented, but cannot be blamed;”
 “ that the power of lawful government must be
 “ maintained; and that the miseries which re-
 “ bellion produces, can be charged only on the
 “ rebels.”

That a man wishes rights to be resigned, is
 not proved by his esteeming it proper to resign
 them: inclination must often be sacrificed to
 prudence. But there are rights, which a friend
 of

of his country would not wish to have retained : such are those rights of governors, the maintenance whereof, must inevitably prove destructive to the peace and property of the governed. It is a trite maxim, but an eternal truth, "the Supreme right is the good of the people."

To those who can enjoy the mistakes of an individual of acknowledged mental superiority, it must give pleasure, to those who feel for the common fallibility of human nature, it must give pain; to remark the obvious inconsistency of this author; he asserts, that war, for disputable rights in one place, is unjustifiable, and that the promotion of it invalidates all title to the possession of Patriotism; and intimates, that war, for disputable rights in another place, is justifiable, and that those who will not promote it are not Patriots. If the right of the British crown to the property of Falkland's Island is disputable, the right of the British parliament to the taxation of America is disputable also*.

* It is said, the former right is of little value; so also is the latter; the Americans have declared their readiness to tax themselves, and therefore we have no occasion to tax them.

It is not here proposed to enter into a full investigation of the unhappy dispute between Great Britain and the colonies; it cannot, however, be improper to remark, that although to assert the absolute sovereignty of the former over the latter is easy, to prove it may be rather difficult.

It is the first principle of freedom, that Government should originate in the consent of the governed. If people, therefore, quit a country, there seems no natural reason for their carrying with them subjection to its rulers.* As distance of situation does not absolutely preclude identity of supreme authority, so national disconnection does not necessarily include political disobedience.

Allowing, however, the parent state to retain claim to fealty, she certainly must yield participation of immunity. Were duty and privilege to admit of separation, the relation would be no longer filial but servile. To these genes

* It may be objected, that there is such reason, provided the country retired to, be the property of the country quitted. There is force in this argument; but then, a question occurs on the validity of the title to that property: an inquiry into that point, would lead far beyond our intention.

ral implied franchises; are sometimes also super-added particular specified stipulations.

The charters of the colonies were the conditions which the first emigrants, oppressed in their native country, stipulated with its supreme Magistrate, on removing to another. These conditions were the security on which they hazarded their lives and fortunes in an inhospitable desert; these conditions, therefore, by an equitable people, would be held eternally sacred from violation. Justice, however, is not more concerned in this affair than interest. Before we hastily subscribe our approbation to the violation of charters, without consent of the parties chartered, we should do well to remember that we ourselves have a MAGNA CHARTA.

If the descendants of the first colonists are now become rich, their riches are of their own acquiring, and ought to be at their own disposal; nor can it be wondered that they are too prudent to resign their property, even on pretence of its application to their defence from foreign enemies, while they are conscious that its application would be really to support more dangerous intestine ones—those natural foes of freedom, Pensioners and Placemen.

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That Great Britain has so high a claim of gratitude on the colonies, for its protection, as some may imagine, is by no means evident. Maternal kindness could not in this case be separable from self interest. Great Britain, in protecting the colonies, protected her own commerce, obtained possession of the settlements of her enemies, and diverted their attention from her own domestick dominions. Perhaps also, could the point be precisely ascertained, the obligation would be found reciprocal: perhaps the colonies are not more indebted to the wealth and valour of England, than England is to the wealth and valour of the colonies.

It is a grand tenet in the creed of Liberty, that the whole people possess the power of legislation and taxation. But in large states, for the whole people to exercise this power in person, is impracticable; they must therefore exercise it by proxy. They must depute a part of their own body to transact their business. These, in ruling and taxing others, must rule and tax themselves; and thence is obtained a security, that law shall not deviate into oppression, nor impost into rapine. The force of this doctrine,

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the advocates of the late measures of government respecting legislation and taxation of America, seem to be aware of; our author, among others, has recourse to this subterfuge, that America is virtually included in the general system of representation: an absurdity, which nothing but the most implicit devotion of a servant to a master, could ever have induced a man of sense to dictate! It has been alledged, that many parts of England are no more formally represented than the colonies: but the allegation is a falshood*; every county in England sends representatives to Parliament, and every man more or less, by some means or other, is concerned in their election. We have the form of representation, though, by the folly of the choosers, and the iniquity of the chosen, we have not its intended advantages, but the Americans have not even the

* The popular cities and towns which are not particularly represented, are all included in the counties, and their freeholders have right of voting for Knights of the Shire equally with others. That these cities and towns are not represented, and that the hereditary and uninhabited boroughs are represented, is a defect in the equality of representation, which greatly diminishes its advantages, nay almost entirely defeats its intention.

form.

form. They send no delegates to the British Senate; nor have any share, directly or indirectly, in the choice of any of its members. A British Senator, who concurs in imposing a tax on them, does not at the same time impose a tax on himself also. A British Senator is always supposed to know the genius and circumstances of the people whom he represents; but he cannot be supposed to know the genius and circumstances of a people at three thousand miles distance.

That he who accepts protection, stipulates obedience, is a theory which few communities or individuals would wish to see illustrated by example. England has protected Portugal and Austria; but a declaration of her right to sovereignty over either of these respective countries, might probably be received at the Courts of Lisbon or Vienna, with some marks of astonishment. Were the Author of the PATRIOT attacked by assassins, he doubtless would accept of any man's protection; but he would scarcely think himself under obligation to become the slave of his protector.

In the assertion that because the Parliament may enact for America a law of capital punishment, it may establish a mode and proportion
of

of taxation; the premises do not authorize the deduction; for the charters of the provinces may admit a right of enacting the former, but not of establishing the latter.

An enquiry into the nature of national crimes, and national punishments, is no proper subject for this essay, nor proportioned to its limits. Suffice it then to observe, that, although the vindicator of despotic government may think a nation's assertion of its own peculiar immunities a crime, the philosopher and the Christian can never think it a crime meriting the punishment of war. A punishment which "confounds the innocent with the guilty, sets the general safety to hazard, suspends commerce, desolates a country, and exposes great numbers to hardship, dangers, captivity, and death *."

That there are many eager enough to "cry *havock and let slip the dogs of war*," against the Americans, cannot be matter of amazement: the motive of some may be the hope of amassing wealth by plunder; that of others, the less guilty, but much more groundless expectation of being eased of taxes at home, by imposing taxes on the colonies; and that of others, the foolish national

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* Patriot, p. 19.

pride of maintaining national authority:—Those, however, who are too honest to subsist by robbery, too discerning to be deluded by specious promises of relief from their own burdens, and too prudent to prefer ideal honour to real safety, surely will not hesitate to enter their protest against all acts of violence on the present occasion: even those who may think the body politic somewhat diseased, will be wiser than to imitate the practice of the empirick, who prescribes arsenick for the cure of an ague.

Patriotism has been generally understood to be a virtue; but that Patriotism seems to have little claim to the appellation, which is nothing more than a local attachment; a passion, which, for the advantage of one favourite nation, will not scruple to ravage and enslave all others. If to aggrandize a man's own country by war is Patriotism, CÆSAR was a Patriot. Patriotism seems better defined, a rational and liberal sentiment, which, on conviction of what is the greatest good of a part, will wish to extend it to the whole of society. The lover of freedom would gladly establish it not only in one, but in every political system in the universe.

Our

Our Author's next criterion for determining a man not to be a Patriot, is, that of " denying his governors their due praise, and concealing from the people the benefits which they receive." " Those, therefore," he observes, " can lay no claim to this illustrious appellation, who impute want of publick spirit to the late Parliament; an assembly of men whom the nation must always remember with gratitude, since it is indebted to them for a very ample concession in the resignation of protections *, and a wise and honest attempt to improve the constitution in the new judicature instituted for trying elections."

If the author of the Patriot was employed to compose the epitaph of the deceased Parliament, it was necessary for him to expatiate on the only two beneficial actions which he could discover in the course of its existence. But that others may not think its virtues so far atone for its vices, as to authorize an indiscriminate encomium on the

* The Author, amidst all his extravagance of applause of the Parliament for this concession, hints a doubt, whether the " possible good of the privilege of protections was not more than the possible evil." Perhaps it was.

whole of its conduct, is certainly no adequate cause for annihilating their pretensions to the denomination of Patriots.

His Patriots, however, who deny their approbation of the new institution for trying elections, must have been created by himself, on purpose to be condemned; for the man who promotes a measure, must surely approve it, and the Patriots of the times promoted that measure, in opposition to the efforts of the adherents of Administration.

TO

TO THE
ELECTORS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Author of the PATRIOT addressed you, previous to the last General Election; the Author of REMARKS ON THE PATRIOT takes this opportunity of addressing you after it. He sees the enemies of your freedom busy in distributing mental poison, he must therefore offer you an antidote, notwithstanding there may be little reason to expect, that it will be honoured with your acceptance. He is conscious the subject of politicks has been too often discussed to admit of a discussion that can boast the recommendation of novelty; but this advantage sometimes results from repetition,
that

that the sentiment which did not affect the mind at one time, affects it at another.

What use you have made of the late "golden moment of opportunity," whether your conduct has been such as will afford you most occasion for self-approbation, or for regret, is knowledge only to be derived from an inspection of the pages of futurity; if there, however, it should be too evidently legible, that you have been grossly inattentive to the security of your inestimable birthright, LIBERTY, let not the error of inattention be succeeded by the inactivity of despair. If one more false step has been made, it may not be absolutely irretrievable. Much of a nation's safety depends on the character of its governors, but more on the conduct of the governed: Vigilance and Prudence often avert, while Indolence and Folly invite the approach of mischief. Expectation of opposition frequently prevents attempt; he who stands on level ground, will scarcely be attacked, while he who wantonly sports on a dangerous declivity, is easily precipitated to destruction. Whatever cause you may have to blame your Legislators, it is possible you have not less cause to blame yourselves;

yourselfes; however great may be your negligence in choosing representatives, it cannot be greater than your neglect of them when chosen. If laws are made to reduce the limits of your freedom, or to alienate part of your property, you hear indeed, and you complain as individuals, but you acquiesce as a community. Your coffee-house conversations, and your news paper essays, murmur private discontent; but a constitutional legal solemn act too rarely testifies the publick disapprobation*. By this passive obedience, this implicit *Iffacharian*† submission, you not only deprive yourselfes of every chance of

* The publick conduct but too well justifies a sarcasm of the supposed Author of the PATRIOT.

Through Freedom's sons no more remonstrance rings,
 Degrading Nobles, and controuling Kings;
 Our supple tribes repress their patriot throats,
 And ask no questions, but the price of votes.

Johnson's Imitation of Juvenal.

† Some may think the description of this Israelitish tribe of Issachar strikingly marks the character of the present age. "Issachar is a strong ass, couching down
 " between two burdens: he saw that rest was good, and
 " the land that it was pleasant, and bowed his shoulder to
 " bear, and became a servant unto Tribute." Gen. xlix.
 V. 14. 15,

escaping

escaping an impending evil, but afford to the producers of it, the plea of ignorance in their justification*. But what excuse, my friends, have you to advance in vindication of this your most unaccountable apathy? All of you have not duty or interest to plead in your behalf; all of you are not the immediate or remote dependents of government; all of you are not Soldiers and Excisemen†, Contractors and Agents: but all of you are too much engrossed with your own private business, or private pleasures, to assist the publick; your hours are too uniformly devoted to the acquisition or dissipation of riches,

* If a bill for any purpose of legislation or taxation is prepared and printed for publick examination; if the people refuse to give their opinion of the propriety, or impropriety of its passing into law, how shall the promoters of it know whether they are about to obtain approbation, or incur displeasure.

† A general indiscriminate reflection is not here intended. The idea of duty, and the force of interest, must naturally bias the human mind; yet it cannot be doubted, but many, both in the military and civil departments, love their country too well to assist any arbitrary administration in enslaving it; though, for refusing their assistance, they might suffer the loss of their lucrative appointments.

to permit you to think of the probable miserable situation of your posterity.

But some of you may say, you have as yet had no reason to complain, you have as yet sat every man "under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree;" and if you have not experienced past, why should you apprehend future evil. If, however, you have felt nothing amiss in the past, your feeling must be totally benumbed; and if you can perceive nothing to deprecate in the future, your sight must be desperately diseased. The most promising appearance of safety is no exemption from danger: a deceitful calm often precedes a storm; the surface of ETNA is a garden, but it conceals a gulph of fire.

But can Liberty, you will ask, be in danger under a form of government particularly calculated for its preservation? You have, indeed, a comparatively good form of government; but beware, that it becomes not *a form without a spirit*: in the body politic, as in the human body, when life deserts limb after limb, dissolution cannot be very far distant. You boast of the superiority of your political system over the systems of most of your neighbours of the continent;

tinent; they are ruled by despotic will, but you by law: it surely, however, behoves you to consider, wherein consists the essential difference, between the same act, when committed immediately and violently, and when committed mediately, and under the sanction of legality.

Whenever the period shall arrive, may that period be recorded in some remote part of the yet unfolded volume of history! wherein a British Monarch shall have a House of Peers of his own creation, and a House of Commons of his own procuring, consequently, both at his own devotion; that is to say, whenever the monarchical aristocratical and democratical parts of the constitution, which should be kept for ever separate as a check upon each other, shall unhappily be united, and act together as one man; Whenever the extension of conquest and of commerce shall have multiplied, almost to infinitude, the number of the servants of government; Whenever the principal of your property shall be vested in loans to your rulers, who must tax every necessary of life with one hand, to pay you the interest of it with the other; and whenever the luxuries of the great shall oblige them to subsist
on

on the spoils of the publick : then the net is spread, the fetters are forged, the power is obtained, and nothing but the will is wanting to enslave you. If from this state of deplorable abjection you ever are preserved, on your own virtue alone depends your preservation. You must unite, heart and hand, in exerting fortitude superior to all possible discouragement, in legal assertion of your rights and privileges: you must labour, without intermission, till you have recovered the lost ground which the constant attrition of the stream of power has imperceptibly deducted from the shores of Liberty: you must petition, and petition, and remonstrate, till you have obtained a Peerage Act, and a Place and Pension Act, to stand as eternal barriers between the executive and the legislative Members of your Political System; and you must, without reluctance, resign your pretensions to authority over countries, far more extensive than your own. You may recollect, that no empire long subsisted, whose original domain was inferior to its acquired appendages; the power of MACEDON was annihilated in the conquests of ALEX-

ANDER; and ROME sunk beneath the weight of her own Provinces.

That you will pursue a conduct so indispensibly necessary to your political salvation, is the wish, rather than the hope of the writer of the preceding pages; who, if professions of disinterestedness can add weight to the sentiments he has communicated, solemnly assures you, that he is none of those disappointed opponents of Administration, described by the author of the PATRIOT; he never did apply for, nor accept; nor ever will apply for, or accept employment or emolument from any King or Minister whatever.—IF HE CANNOT SAVE, HE WILL NOT SELL HIS COUNTRY.

F I N I S.

A P P E N D I X.

Were authority necessary to convince of what reason so plainly marks out, the danger of any of the three branches of government encroaching upon the others, the following extract from a spirited PROTEST of the Lords, is full to the point in question.

“ **B**ECAUSE we conceive that the constitution itself
 “ points out this bill, as one of its principal securi-
 “ ties: a due poize and independency of the three seve-
 “ ral constituent parts of the supreme legislative power,
 “ being required by the spirit of our constitution, and
 “ absolutely necessary to its existence. If any one of
 “ these becomes dependant on the other, the constitution
 “ is dangerously altered; but if any two become depen-
 “ dent on the third, it is totally subverted, and the wisest
 “ establishment that ever was formed of a free govern-
 “ ment, shrinks and degenerates into a monarchical, and
 “ aristocratical, or democratical faction. We, therefore,
 “ think we cannot be too careful in providing against
 “ whatever may, at any time, affect this just poize, and
 “ necessary independency of the three estates. And this
 “ caution seems the more requisite now, when, from the
 “ inevitable variation of things, employments are become
 “ exceedingly numerous, and are yet further artfully
 “ split, divided, subdivided, and increased in value, in
 order

" order to add both extent and weight to their influence.
 " Two hundred employments are distributed in the pre-
 " sent House of Commons; a dangerous circumstance!
 " and which, if it could have been foretold to our an-
 " cestors, even in the latter end of the last century, the
 " prediction would have been rejected by them as chi-
 " merical; or if believed, lamented as fatal; and should
 " the number of employments continue to increase in the
 " same proportion, even we may live to see, for want of
 " this bill, a constant majority of Placemen meeting un-
 " der the name of Parliament, to establish grievances in-
 " stead of redressing them; to approve implicitly the
 " measures of a Court without information; to support
 " and screen the ministers they ought to controul or
 " punish, and to grant money without account, or it may
 " be without bonds. In which case the remaining
 " forms of our constitution would, by creating a fatal
 " delusion, become our greatest grievance."

Protest of the Lords on occasion of the rejection of a
 Bill for better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by
 limiting the number of Officers in the House of Com-
 mons. 1740-1.

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